

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST 000

New Series

Organ of the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, the American Ethnological Society of New York, and the Philadelphia Anthropological Society

CONTENTS

<i>The Culture History of the Loo Islands, Fiji.</i> LAURA THOMPSON . . .	181
<i>The Cano Blowgun in Catawba and Southeastern Ethnology.</i> FRANK G. SPECK . . .	198
<i>Personal Names of the Todas.</i> M. B. EMENEAU . . .	205 ✓
<i>Native American Beers.</i> WESTON LA BARRE . . .	224
<i>The Incidence, Character, and Decline of Polygyny among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Saulteaux.</i> A. IRVING HALLOWELL . . .	235
<i>Tobacco as a Possible Factor Involved in the Obsolescence of Navaho Pottery and Basketry.</i> HARRY TECHOPIK, JR. . .	257
<i>Etiquette and Social Sanction in the Fiji Islands.</i> DOROTHY M. SPENCER . . .	263
<i>The Use of Peyote by the Carrizo and Lipan Apache Tribes.</i> MORRIS E. OPLER . . .	271
<i>John Napoleon Brinken Howig.</i> JOHN R. SWANTON . . .	286
REPORT, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1937 . . .	291
BOOK REVIEWS . . .	See rear cover
SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS . . .	323
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS . . .	See rear cover
NOTES AND NEWS . . .	345

PROPERTY OF

Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
Published by the

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[title page]

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS¹

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

¹ This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Pearson Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103-112, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *θ*, *z* should be read for *v*, *θ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

551
[614] patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers² mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named *sonderidz*. One of these is the daughter of *imuxfurn* (19, Imokhvan)³ and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of *midxtur* (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called *sondur* to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778
771
234 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of *munda*,⁴ which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called *pep*), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the *mund* (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as *tōn* "god" or *noir* "sacred place" or by the compound *tōnnoir*, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between *mod* "mund" and *noir* when these two form a pair in the songs.⁵ These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god *ōm* who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the *munda*, i.e. the *tōnnoir*, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the *mund* *mymj*.

[113] ² W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 623. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 649-57.

³ The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] ⁴ Toda terminology applies the word *mod* to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] ⁵ For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937).

It is said that the munda and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the *kūsm* (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of *kūsm*, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the *toirōsoi* moiety, but not among the *tōfi/oi*), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munda, *ti-dairies* (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of *kūsm*, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one *kūsm* by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one *kūsm* which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the *kūsm*.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and *kūsm*, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. *ūwōi* of the *melgōsoi* (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. *pung* (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. *maikau* of the *kūsoi* (10, Makara) has the name of one of the *ti*-places of this sib. *toirōi* of the *kūsoi* (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the *kurpo* dairy at the mund *kais*. *komōm* of the *toirōsoi* (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the *kōgōsoi* dairy at the mund *toirōi*. *pepoib* of the *melgōsoi* (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at *kūsoi*, a mund of the sib. *kōroirūm* of the *kōroirōsoi* (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second *kūsm* of the people of the sib. *oi/az* of the *purgoirōsoi* (34, Atiura) has the second *kūsm* of the people of the sib. *munombištj*, son of *kōtai* (12, Kacheidi) has one of the *kūsm* of the buffaloes of his sib.

778
551
614

§6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. *tæŋ* in §12 and *tæŋjæm*, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. *tuipuxxum*, son of *tæpex* (20, Teipakh), and *tuwinnus* (25, Tiveners) are both called after the *kogloŋ* dairy at the mund *torroŋ*, which is named *tuipuxforū*. In the case of one man *ponus* (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is *koinus*, which is the first *kūarm* of the mund *poŋteŋ* of the *torroŋ*, but that a real *kūarm* of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name *ponus* is based on the second *kūarm* of this mund, *poingub*, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged *kūarm* of two munda which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. *ŋikjəŋ* (24, Irkiolv) after the *kūarm* *ŋirpux*, *ŋikjəŋ*, and *oixūwəŋ* (24, Orguln) after the *kūarm* *oixpux*, *oixūwəŋ*; the *kūarm* are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not dealing in these two cases with munda whose gods are regarded as no longer existent is clear, for *kiŋpux* of the *nirjəŋ* (43, Kidrners) derives his name from the unchanged second *kūarm* of the mund *nirj*, and *orjəŋ* of the *mōŋroŋ* (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second *kūarm* of the mund *pan*. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be re-occupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

551
778
614

193
551
103

§7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. *təŋmod* (24, Teimad) < a valley (*paŋ*) called *təŋmodfoŋ*; *məgoŋ* (24, Mogal) < *məgojəŋ* "cubit (*məgoŋ*)-shade (*əŋ*)," a shady place at the male funeral-place *ty/təŋ* of his sib; *kəkar* (20, Kakar) < *kəkarxūwəŋ*, an open place in the middle of thickets (*kūwəŋ*) near the mund *torroŋ*. See also *kəŋ* in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in *kiŋjəŋ* (20, Kidimudŋi) < *kiŋjəŋ*, a mountain; *mūn* is the peak of a hill and *murj* may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[114]

* Rivers (p. 423) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of every-day life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küür. This is clearly the noun küür "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kũingũür (63, Kwongudr) is named after kũingũür, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noirgũür (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tũgoir. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iũxũür (21, Idrshkwũdr) <iũřař, a valley (pař) near the mund toir; iũdxũür (23, Idjkudr) <iũdxař, a valley near the mund pařair; in both these cases the valley has a stream. tũixũür (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æpũũgoir. In many other names however -küür can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küür has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæinxũür (62, Kangudr), where kæin refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxũür (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoir, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küür "stream" or "path" and küür "horn."

551
193
103

⁷ I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

831
533
[551]

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puřyřmitř
flower-lime fruit
torjomeř
pole-who are-men

pař æřũũ
crowd-for I became
tuřk æřũũ
bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The torj is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

193
551

§9. The frequent suffix *-kūwɪŋ* has defied analysis. Rivers⁹ thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in *puntʃoxdūwɪŋ* (a son of *sirjair* 20) < *puntʃox*, a mountain near the mund *toiror*, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in *tuwɪpɪwɪxūwɪŋ* (20; referred in §6) < *tuwɪpɪwɪforū*, the *kogfoŋ* dairy at *toiror*; *kæɪnɪxūwɪŋ*, son of *toilɪŋ* and *nertnɪw* (24, *Tɔləidi* and *Nertinɪw*) < *kæɪnəŋ*, the *ɔwɪsoŋ* dairy at the mund *korkor*. A son of *kūwɪm* of the *pɪwɪgoɪroŋ* (34, *Kwodron*) is named *asɔjxūwɪŋ* < *asɔjɪw*, the buffaloes of the *tɪ* of this sib. *kōkɪsɪxūwɪŋ* (20, *Kekarikutan*, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man *kekæɪɪxūwɪŋ* in table 25) < *kōkɪsɪxɪɪd*, the name of buffalo-track (*kudɔ*) leading to the mund *toiror*.

[177]

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is *-fɪwɪ*; e.g. in *karɔfɪwɪ* (21, *Karadrɪwɪ*) < *karɔfɪwɪ*, name of a mountain (*tɪwɪ*) near *toiror*; *ɪwɪkūwɪfɪwɪ* (24, *Idrkudrɪwɪ*) < *ɪwɪkūwɪfɪwɪ*, a river (*pəɪwɪ*) near Mt. *koror*; *puntʃɪfɪwɪ* (24, *Pachievan*) < *puntʃox*, a mountain near *toiror* (cf. *puntʃoxdūwɪŋ* in §9); *kɛɪɪfɪwɪ* (25, *Kerskedrɪwɪ*) < *kɛɪɪfɪwɪ*, a stream near the mund *pəɪɪwɪ*; *asɔjɪfɪwɪ* < *asɔjɪw*, the buffaloes of the *tɪ* belonging to the *pɪwɪgoɪroŋ*, is another name of *pəɪwɪ* (35, *Patirsh*; cf. *asɔjxūwɪŋ* in §9); *mupɪfɪwɪ* (16, *Mopəvan*) < *mupɪfɪ*, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. *pəɪfɪwɪ* or *pəɪfɪwɪfɪwɪ*, *kæɪmɔdɔ* or *kæɪmɔdɔfɪwɪ*; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is *mɪwɪ*, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word *pɪwɪ*, which is the only possibility, means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.⁹

[888]

[114]

[192]

[831]
[553]

her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

⁹ Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

⁹ In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for *pɪwɪ* belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix *-fɪwɪ* derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

831
192

§11. Another frequent suffix is -nurs. It is found also in a number of kšarm of munda and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kūrūtūtoṣ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kšarm is pairnurs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nurs) of the 1600 (pairnurs) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (pairnurs) and 1800 (puṣṭnurs) in number. If this is correct, nurs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kšarm koinurs of the mund nyiṣ of the melḡaiṣoṣ is to be interpreted as koin-nurs "the place of the god koin;" koin or koinṣṣ is the mountain near this mund. The first kšarm of the mund melḡaiṣ is nairnurs, clearly to be connected with the two kšarm of the people of this sib, nairṣoir, nairṣep, the first of which has the element toir which means the endogamous moiety toirṣaroṣ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kšarm of the buffaloes of this sib, nairiṣ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at melḡaiṣ, nairṣūṣ (i.e. nair-tūṣ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element nair means is quite unknown; but nairnurs is "the place of the nair." Two munda, kšur of the kūrūtūtoṣ and kšairṣynj of the puṣṭnurs, have kšairnurs as their first kšarm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kšairm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the mōiroṣ sib);" what connection he had with these two munda is unknown. Two place-names, not kšarm, with this element are poṣṣnurs "the place of the funeral-but," a male funeral-place of the kūrūtūtoṣ, and mairnurs, a female funeral-place of the mōiroṣ, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nurs is appropriate in place-names and kšarm of munda. A brother of moingitṣ (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kšairdnurs, whose name is the first kšarm of the mund kiṣker of his sib. kšairnurs (56, Karanera) < the first kšarm of the mund tairnurs of his sib. The name kinurs (26, Kiner) is derived from kinuṣnurs, the first kšarm of the mund kōiroṣ, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nurs. For it is certain that -nurs is now felt as a

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboo work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboo*, p. 110).

193
551

[776]

[773]

[103]

831
792

55/193 suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panur and turinur (§6); kūrjnur (25, Kudenera) <the relic-burning place kūrjonoim at the funeral-place tytstūr; piidjnur (21, Paldenir) <piidjxasem, the slope of a hill near the mund kūrmaur; nertnur (24, Nertinera) <nerpošt, an alternative name, or unerpošt, the first kūrma, of the mund tælgdūr.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iŋ. ertaiŋ (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund karkor. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. turaiŋ (20, Tirseidi) <tukirxār, a pool at the mund toroir. He was a brother of ertaiŋ, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæŋ. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæf, the name of the mountain near the mund toroir, and we may suspect that -ŋ is related to the suffix -iŋ. Two other brothers of turaiŋ have names with the same formative -iŋ, tūppiŋ (Tanpeidi) <kūwītūpp, the raised grassy mound (tūpp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tytstūr, and muqbiŋ (Madbeithi) <muqboiŋt, a mountain near toroir. paikiŋ (21, Parkeidi) <paiksem, the slope of a hill near the mund karkor. toiliŋ (24, Toleidi) <toilsem, a stream (paŋ) near the mund tælgdūr. It was said that pulkiŋ (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund pulkūr and the mountain kiŋmūn near the mund kūrmaur; this is possible, but derivation from pulkūr alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydiŋ (21, Kudatheidi) <kyd, a male funeral-place of the toroir. kūwiŋ (21, Kuteidi) <kūwītūpp, see tūppiŋ above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paikiŋ (explained above), their father was petūŋ and another elder brother was oirdūŋ; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tūŋ. I know it in these names only. oirdūŋ (Arthothi) derives from oirōf, an open stretch of ground (toif) near the mund ertōf. The origin of petūŋ (Peratuthi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -oda; e.g. karnoda (21, Keinoda) <karnōf, the ŋurōf dairy at the mund karkor. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyfjodxūŋ, son of toiliŋ (24), named after tyfjpaŋ, a path through a thicket near toroir; tyfjxūŋ would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyfjoda (62, Tilioda), which is derived from karyf, the kūrma of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piŋ.

§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæpax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūrom of the purgoiŋ (34, Kwo-dron), who is named after the mund kūmŋynj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panus in §6). The suffix -air is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinair (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjair (20, Siriar) < sirivaggam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piŋjair (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piŋj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kurŋoŋ dairy at the mund kurŋuŋ, which has as kūsm piŋjog, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag).

§15. Rivers took -oŋ (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So touŋjoŋ in §5, and ŋikjoŋ in §6; the latter is one kūsm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūsm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūmŋjoŋ (52, Kuriolv) and parukŋjoŋ (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūmŋuŋ, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pits, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from punuŋjoŋ, the second kūsm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. parukŋjoŋ < parukŋjnuŋ, the watering place of the kurŋoŋ dairy at the mund kau, with the ending from touŋjoŋ, the name of the kurŋoŋ dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poiŋ used as a personal name, viz. tyŋjoŋ (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poiŋtyŋjoŋ, the kūsm of the ŋuŋoŋ dairy at the mund noesminor. Usually some change is made, as in tumpuŋuŋ and tuŋnuŋ in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piŋŋiŋuŋ in §21.

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. punuŋ (23, Puner) < panuŋ, the second kūsm of Mt.

551
193

[64]

551
193
234551
193
[553]

551
193
[553] pairθotj near the mund karkos. edzen (22, Idjen) <iidsaf, a valley near the mund poštair; this man was afterwards called kūarxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tælgūwir, since there was another man called edzen. nōtylj (25, Natuli) <kinxōtylj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund poštair; kinxōtylj = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tylj)," and nōtylj = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tylj)." I could not discover that nōtylj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæθj and kæm, a brother of tæθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmōf, cf. kæmgūwītθ (§9) and kæmōdz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiθj, for which see §12.

551
552
614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kūasm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjair in §14. Others are moironwus, a son of tōθūxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moirama, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjair (table 20), <noixur "Nagore" or noixurxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

551
196
197 §18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ordʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ŋ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ordʒ. The other name is idjoin (a son of tæpax, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ōmgūwītθ (20, Enkutan); ōm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kūūθū, who belonged to the sib of the meļgūsof, had another name mæltarʒ, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

551
197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kointsarʒ, a son of kæmōdz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (arʒ is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil crossin is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. udjoian (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government appointment" and oian "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the torroir/sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

- *tæŋj (§12)
- *tuŋiŋj (§12)
- *tuŋpiŋj (§12)
- *nōirnuŋ (Narsners) <unōirof, the second kūasm of the mund tæil-gūŋŋ (see nertnuŋ, §11)
- *muŋbiŋj (§12)
- *ertsiŋj (§12)
- *kəkair (§7)
- *tæipax (Teipakh) <tūmŋæipax, a pen at the mund torroir
sirjair (§§14,17)
- *tæifxūŋŋ (Tavkudr) <Mt. tæif near torroir, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæif" (cf. §8)
- *kinŋjmurj (§7)
- *paŋxūŋŋ (Pankudr) <paŋŋŋŋŋ, two pens, one at torroir, one at kəkair (cf. §8)
- *kōkijxūŋŋ (§9)
- *mēdŋ, son of kəkair, <mēdŋxūŋŋ, a ravine near poŋŋŋŋ (cf. §7)
- idjom (§18)
- naŋom (§14)
- *tuŋpaŋxūŋŋ (§§9, 15)

551
197551
554551
614

- 55/ öngüwɔ (§18, and cf. §9)
 614 noxoroidən (§17)
 *tæθjæm (§16)
 *putʃoxwɔ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 21

- pettūwθj (§12)
 *karorfun (§10)
 *oirdūwθj (§12)
 *paikiθj (§12)
 *kydsiθj (§12)
 *kūwɔiθj (§12)
 *piɪdjinwɔ (§11)
 *kæmodz (§13)
 *iɪxwɔɪr (§8)
 *munɛɪr (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place tyɪtəwɔ
 (cf. §5)

kūwɔxerts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodz; this was the name of the father or grandfather of pettūwθj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (kūwɔ) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.

kointsarɔ (§19)

RIVERS' TABLE 22

- *puɪkiθj (§12)
 *kiɪjɔɪr (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund pəstɔɪr (cf. §5)
 *pəɪgar (Polgar), a valley between toɪroɪr and pəstɔɪr (cf. §5)
 *edɛn, alias *kəɪɔɪr (§16, and cf. §5)
 *pundūwɔ (Pundu) < pəndūwɔ, a cooking ground at kərkɔɪr (cf. §16)
 *kəɪmɔwɔ (Keimuv) < kəɪmɔwɔɪnɔɪr, the dairy watering-place at pəstɔɪr (cf. §7)
 *pəstɔɪwɔɪr (Pəstikudr) < nɛɪpəst (§48, 11) with special reference to the pəst "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
 *tɔwɪkūwɔ, son of pəɪgar, < tɔwɪkūwɔθj, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

RIVERS' TABLE 23

- *pəɪwɔɪr (§46, 11)
 *təɪkɔɪr (Tokas), a mountain near kərkɔɪr (cf. §5)
 *pəɪnɔɪr (§16)

- *təṭṭuxn (Teitukhen), a mountain near toiroir (cf. §5)
 *idəxūwɪr (§8)
 *kəmdūwɪ (§5)
 *təṭṭūwɪ, son of toikas and puwɪwɪr, <name of the general pen at toiroir (cf. §5)
 moɪwɪwɪr (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

- *puwɪfəwɪn (§10)
 *wɪkūwɪfəwɪn (§10)
 *kidzūwɪtɪ (Kidjkutan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
 *ōikjəf (§§6, 15)
 *təṭmod (§7)
 *ōixūwɪtɪ (§6)
 *toiləf (§12)
 *nertnɪwɪr (§11)
 *məgoj (§7)
 *piṣṭjəxūwɪr (Pushtikōdr) <piṣṭjəfəṭ, the second kūwɪr of the ūwɪsofj dairy at toiroir (§15, and cf. §8)
 *tyjəḍəxūwɪr (§13, and cf. §8)
 *kəɪnəxūwɪtɪ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

- *nətyfj (§16)
 *kərgəɪfəwɪn (§10)
 *kūwɪrjɪwɪr (§11)
 *təwɪfəwɪr (§§6, 11, 15)
 ərdsoj (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (kūḍəxərtə) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the piṣṭəf, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was kəmdəṭm (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kufinəf in the Wynad where honey is

551
614

55/
214

[237]

very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōm, a son of piŋjog (52, Piliŋ), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kūrūtūŋŋ, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōm) has just been analyzed, and one, piŋjair, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōŋŋŋŋŋŋ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The tōŋŋŋŋŋŋ sib, belonging to the tōŋŋŋŋŋŋ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger tōŋŋŋŋŋŋ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kūrūtūŋŋ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piŋŋŋŋ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōŋŋŋŋŋŋ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

[24]

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

[533]

55/
193

§24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

of female-denoting significance, is -idz. E.g. arlidz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from arl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noipol; it was at noip that the goddess tōikisj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mazaxozj	potsuñnoir
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mazaxarl	oikjuñnoir
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noip) the sacred place where tōikisj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that arl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tōikisj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is mopidz (7, Manidz); mop "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—ipefæidz, mopefæidz "quarrels (pæidz) about women (ip, a Hadaga word) and land;"

ipexōisj	kotjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
mopexōir	kertoθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." termidz (44, Termidz) < term "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nūmṛidz (3, Notidz) < nūmṛ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: kōileort, kopentūmṛ "dancing (ort) with the legs (koil), sights for the eyes (kop)." poṇidz, daughter of kūmṛpax (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otōdjoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sinidz (21, Sinidz) < sin "gold." laibidz, daughter of tōikūmṛ (63, Teikudr), < laibm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruṣpoṇidz (also ruṣpoj), daughter of kōmṛuṣ (34, Kemners), < ruṣpoj "rupee." raimidz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roidgidz, daughter of poṛdz (34, Podj), < roṛdz "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pīkīdz (28, Pirkidz) < pīkītan, the Toda form of the English name Brecks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmidz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

551
193551
193
614
773
[538]551
193
533

[177]

551
193
533

name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: *kurefer*, *keresonm* "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." *motšids* (21, *Matchids*) < *motš* "cot," with thought of the song-unit *sinšmotš* "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. *ofulids* (16, *Ovalids*; 24, *Ovelids*) < *oful* "rice puffed over the fire."

551
193

§25. The suffix *-or* is found in several names; e.g. *koisor* (57, *Kosar*) < *koiš* "coin, rupee" and *pišar* (21, *Piliarh*) < *piš* "silver." *noixoremj* (10, *Nagerami*) contains a suffix *-emj* found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of *noixoroidrn* (§17). In *sinog* (27, *Sinakh*) we have *sin* "gold" and a suffix *-og*. In several names there is a suffix *-ul*; e.g. *sinul* (28, *Sinul*) < *sin* "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are *sin* "gold," pun "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), *piš* "silver." E.g. *sindorm* (10, *Sindarm*) with *tarm* "charity" (for the song-association cf. *tarmids* in §24); *sindogaz* (62, *Sintagars*) with *togaz* "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; *sinboqm* (63, *Sinpanm*) with *poqm* "4-anna piece;" *singār*, daughter of *tōiktūir* (63), with *kār* "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; *sinbydj*, daughter of the same man, with *pydj* "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit *buddhi*); *sinmel*, daughter of *turbūir* (68, *Tebkudr*), with *mal* "mountains, esp. the Nīlgiris," a frequent word in songs; *sindod* (38, *Sindod*), with *tođ* "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit *daḍa*); *sinir* (56, *Sinir*), with *nir* "water;" *sinur* (41, *Sinur*), with *ur* "town, city;" *singupj* (14, *Sinkupi*), with *kupj* "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armband;" *sinduifj* (58, *Sinduvi*), with *tufj* "feather;" *sinbešufj* (65, *Sinbuthuvi*), with *pe(θ)-tufj* "eagle's feather;" *siner* (8, 40, *Sinera*), with *er* "leaf;" *sindarx* (3, 25, 56, *Sinderg*; 53, *Sinterg*), with *tarx* "plate from which food is eaten," and *singōb* (43, *Singib*), with *kōb* "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: *tarxūrešjk*, *kōbūirfōu* "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" *sindurp* (68, *Sintharap*), with *turp* "key." In a number of names the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the two parts of the compound: *sinamut* (43, *Sinamut*), with *mut* "pearl;" *sinamoj* (24, *Sinamani*), with *moj* "bell" (see note 10); *sinabuf* (8, *Sinabuv*), with *puif* "flower;" *sinešfj* (1, *Sinavell*), with *piš* "silver." Names with pun "gold" are: *pmduifj* (68, *Panduvi*), with *tufj* "feather;" *punbešufj* (8, *Punbuthuvi*), with *pešufj* "eagle's feather;" *punnur* (66, *Punur*), with *ur* "town, city;" *pundarx* (26, *Pundergh*), with *tarx*, cf. *sindarx* above. *punabuf* (10, *Punabuv*), with *puif* "flower," contains the inserted vowel *-a-*. *pundūm-*

teuŋ (10, Funduteimi), with tūwt "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, piŋj "silver" is found in piŋjmoŋt (54, Pilimaŋt), with moŋt "ax;"¹⁰ piŋjniŋr (55, Piliniŋr), with niŋr "water;" piŋjmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl."

551
193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- 'beauty;' nastuŋj (49, Narstuŋi), with tuŋj "feather;" naspiŋj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piŋj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalebuŋi, daughter of panus (23, Paners), with puŋ "flower." puŋ "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puŋiŋj (20, Puveli), with piŋj "silver;" with inserted -a- in puŋamut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -ids and piŋj "silver" in puŋidzŋiŋj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. komsenŋj, daughter of outjars and udjoŋn (34, Atiur and Udiosan), from kōs "rupee" and menŋj "garland;" kōsŋiŋj (11, Kōsaveli), from kōs "rupee" and piŋj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. kōsar §25. niŋrŋiŋj (63, Nirveli) from niŋr "water" and piŋj "silver." arziŋr (16, Arsner), from arz "European" and niŋr "water." mutniŋrŋiŋj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," niŋr "water" and piŋj "silver;" is rather exceptional in having three members. pumes (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and es "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soipniŋr (6, Sapniŋr), from soip "shop" and niŋr "water;" pofurmut, daughter of outjars and udjoŋn (34), from pofu "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.¹¹ ligmiŋj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjebuŋi, daughter of ŋuŋpoŋr (48, Ushadr), has puŋ "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; miŋjamut, daughter of kōmnuŋs (34, Kemners), is miŋj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-.

551
193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tenguŋj, daughter of kūmijaiŋ (52, Kuriolŋ), "moon;" sēŋŋer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmitŋ (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumeŋ (56, Munat), "affection." poŋoŋm (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paṭṭana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotsarj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such

551
193

¹⁰ Moŋt "ax" and moŋj "bell" (cf. ŋōmōmŋj §26) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in dāhies.

¹¹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 354.

551
193

an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: *pæibj*, daughter of *ōiknurs* (8, Arkners), < "baby;" *pentš*, daughter of *korxūwŋ* (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda *tæisn*; a woman's name *tæis* is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of *kejniur*, 3, Kainir).

[197]

§30. The Sanskrit *dēvi* "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives *tivj* (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them *amēndidj*, daughter of *kūwīlpax* (52, Kulpakh), the first element being *Amma*, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to *Mariamma*.

CONCLUSIONS

551
614
778

§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and *kūsm* "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munda of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. *ōngūwŋ* §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551
776
177551
193
614

[197]

§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.²² Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[562]
[533]
[778]

²² It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the *kūsm* "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

000
551
533

when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.¹ In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed *kiṣowd3*, the Toda form of the king's name, into *siṣowd3*. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that *kiṣ-* suggests the word for "small" while *siṣ-* suggests the word for "gold," i.e. *sin*. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element *sin* "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

[192]

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 331.